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THE BEGINNINGS
OF
ENGLISH AMERICA



SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S
SETTLEMENTS
ON
ROANOKE ISLAND



1584-1587.





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FIRST MAP OF VIRGINIA



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THE
BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH AMERICA:

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S SETTLEMENTS

ON

ROANOKE ISLAND.

1584-1587.

BY

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THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH AMERICA.

"STANDING ON A HILLTOP, A LANDSCAPE WILL SPREAD LIKE A MAP BEFORE US. WE CAN SEE THE PROMINENT POINTS, THE HEADS OF STREAMS, THE ROCKS, THE COAST—EVERYTHING LIES IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE. THUS LOOKING BACK UPON HISTORY, WE CAN SEE THE IMPORTANCE OF EVENTS WHICH ARE HID FROM PARTICIPANTS AND ONLOOKERS. WE CAN HAIL THE ROANOKE SETTLEMENT AS THE BEGINNING OF ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN AMERICA."—*Peter J. Hamilton.*

BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH AMERICA.

The celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Jamestown clothes with renewed interest and gives increased emphasis to one of the greatest events in the world's history. The planting of a permanent English settlement in America marked the close of one great historic epoch and the beginning of another. The long struggle between England and Spain for the control of the western world was at an end; the development of English-speaking America had begun. The course of events had demonstrated that the latter was impossible without the former. Indeed so important was it to the English colonization of America that the power of Spain should be destroyed that an eminent historian declares: "The defeat of the Invincible Armada was the opening event in the history of the United States. It was the event that made all the rest possible. Without it the attempts at Jamestown and Plymouth could hardly have had more success than the attempt at Roanoke Island. An infant colony is like an army at the end of a long line of communication: it perishes if the line is cut. Before England could plant thriving states in America she must control the ocean routes. The far-sighted Raleigh understood the conditions of the problem. When he smote the Spaniards at Cadiz he knew it was a blow struck for America. He felt the full significance of the defeat of the Armada, and in spite of all his disappointments in Virginia, he never lost heart."* This vitally important lesson Raleigh

Significance of the
founding of
Jamestown.

* Fiske: "Old Virginia and Her Neighbours," Vol. I, p. 39.

and the English people learned from their sad experiences at Roanoke Island.

The Roanoke colony has an abiding interest.

For such reason, therefore, the history of the Roanoke settlements has an abiding interest for the student of English and American history; while the romance of the story clothes it with equal interest for the general reader. Therefore, though the story is well-known, no apology need be offered for re-telling, especially at this time, the first chapter in that series of remarkable events that culminated in Jamestown.

Origin of England's interest in America.

The origin of these events is found in the religious wars of the sixteenth century between Protestant England and Catholic Spain. In this great struggle England was "pitted against the greatest military power that had existed in Europe since the days of Constantine the Great. To many the struggle seemed hopeless. For England the true policy was limited by circumstances. She could send troops across the Channel to help the Dutch in their stubborn resistance, but to try to land a force in the Spanish peninsula for aggressive warfare would be sheer madness. The shores of America and the open sea were the proper field of war for England. Her task was to paralyze the giant by cutting off his supplies, and in this there was hope of success, for no defensive fleet, however large, could watch all Philip's enormous possessions at once." It was as the storehouse of the enemy's treasure and the chief source of his supplies that America first excited real interest among the English people.*

* Fiske: "Old Virginia and Her Neighbours," Vol. I, pp. 11, 22.

The man who best understood England's problem was Walter Raleigh.* Hawkins, Grenville, Drake, Cavendish, and those other glorious English "sea kings" of the sixteenth century, understood it well enough so far as it involved the ravaging of the coasts of Spanish colonies and the plundering of Spanish treasure ships. But Raleigh went further than this and added the feature of planting English colonies in North America. Such colonies would not only develop English commerce but would also off-set the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, Mexico, and South America, and serve as bases of operations against them. The idea of planting a Protestant state in America was not original with Raleigh. "The author of that master thought was the great admiral Coligny." The atrocious massacre of Coligny's Huguenot colony in Florida by the Spaniards under the treacherous Menendez awakened among the English people "fierce indignation. Hostility to Spain was fast increasing in England, and the idea of Coligny began to be entertained by a few sagacious heads. If France could not plant a Protestant state in America, perhaps England could. A little later we find Le Moine [a survivor of the Huguenot colony] consulted by the gifted half-brothers, Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh."† It was Raleigh's faith in the scheme and his willingness to back his faith with his fortune that entitles him to the first place among those who won North America for English-speaking peoples.

Raleigh best understood England's problem.

* Raleigh's name is spelled in almost as many ways, if not in quite as many, as Shakespeare's. Stebbing gives seventy-four different forms known to have been used. Down to 1583 Raleigh himself generally wrote Rauley; he also wrote Rawleyghe, Raleghe, Rauleigh and Ralegh. "The spelling Raleigh, which posterity has preferred, happens to be one he is not known to have ever employed."—Stebbing: "Sir Walter Raleigh," pp. 30-31.

† Fiske: "Old Virginia and Her Neighbours," Vol. I, pp. 18-19.

Joint effort of Gilbert and Raleigh.
A bold proposal.

The first steps which Raleigh took toward his grand scheme was in conjunction with his half-brother Gilbert. In November 1577 some one presented Queen Elizabeth with "A discourse how Her Majesty may annoy the Kinge of Spaine by fitting out a fleet of shippes of war under pretence of Letters Patent, to discover and inhabit strange places, with special proviso, for their safeties whom policy requires to have most annoyed—by which means the doing the contrary shall be imputed to the executor's fault; your Highness's letters patent being a manifest show that it was not your Majesty's pleasure so to have it." The writer offered to destroy the great Spanish fleets which went every year to the banks of Newfoundland to catch fish for their fast days. "If you will let us do this," he continued, "we will next take the West Indies from Spain. You will have the gold and silver mines and the profit of the soil. You will be monarch of the seas and out of danger from every one. I will do it if you will allow me; only you must resolve and not delay or dally—the wings of man's life are plumed with the feathers of death."* There is no signature to this letter, but the same idea is expressed in several of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's letters, and historians believe this to be his.† At any rate within less than a year Gilbert obtained letters patent for planting an English colony in America, with "special proviso" that there should be no robbing "by sea or by land." In the fall of 1578 Gilbert sailed with a fleet of seven ships, one of which was commanded by Walter Raleigh. A severe fight with Spaniards compelled the fleet to

* Brown: "Genesis of the United States," Vol. I, p. 9.

† Fiske: "Old Virginia and Her Neighbours," Vol. I, p. 23.

return to Plymouth. Five years later Gilbert sailed again, but this time without Raleigh, "for the queen's mind had been full of forebodings and she had refused to let him go." The unhappy ending of this voyage is one of the most dramatic episodes in American history.

In 1584 Gilbert's patent was renewed in Raleigh's name. By this patent, signed and sealed March 25, 1584, Raleigh was given "free liberty & license * * * to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreis, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people." Two provisions of this charter deserve especial mention. One declared the colonists "shall and may have all the privileges of free Denizens, and persons native of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample manner and forme, as if they were borne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding." The other provision authorized Raleigh, his heirs and assigns to enact such laws as they judged proper for the government of the colony provided only such laws were not inconsistent with the laws of England.* "A more unequivocal acknowledgment of the rights of self-government which a British government of two centuries later saw fit to ignore, it would be hard to find. Gilbert and Raleigh demanded and Elizabeth granted in principle just what Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams demanded and George III. refused to concede."†

Raleigh's patent.
Important provisions.

* Raleigh's patent; printed in Hackluyt's Voyages.

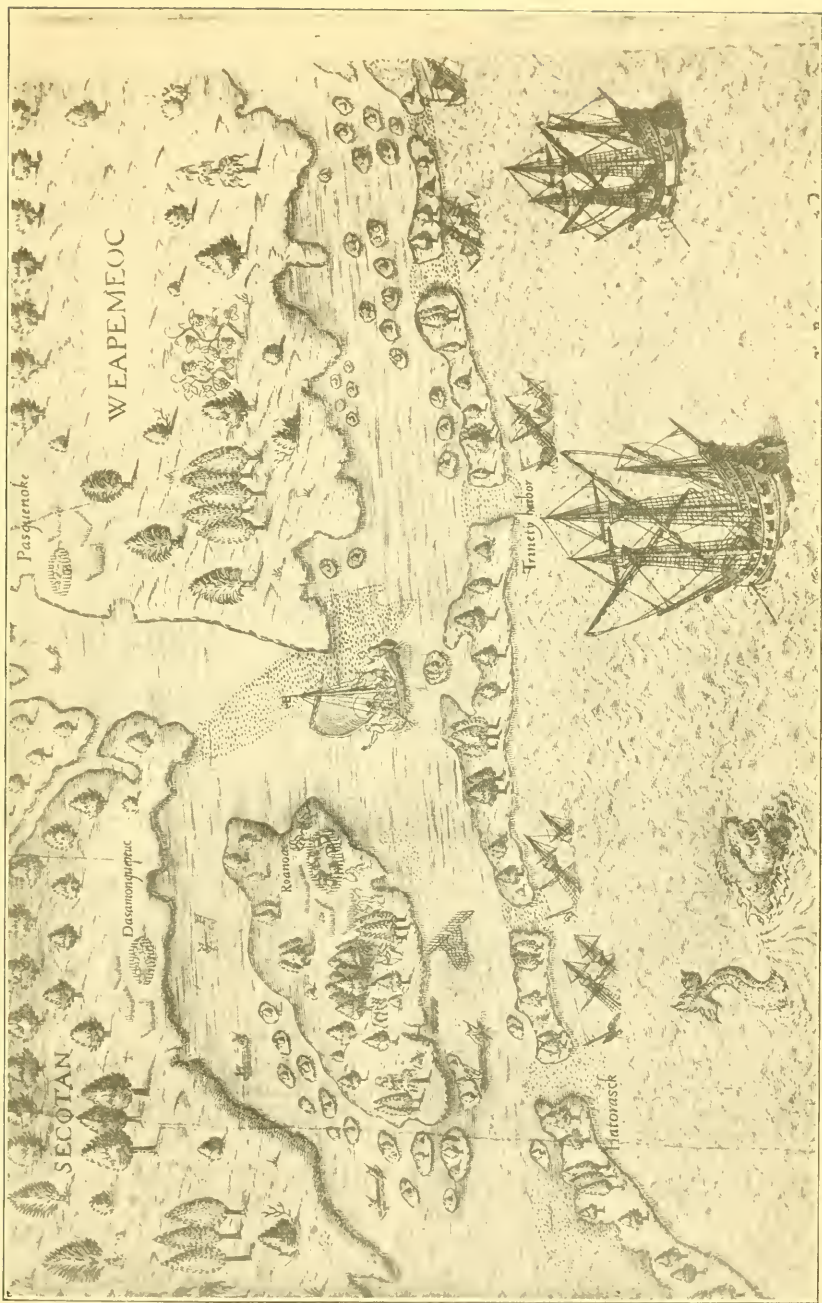
† Fiske: "Old Virginia and Her Neighbours," Vol. I, 31.

Expedition of
Amadas and Bar-
low.

Raleigh was prompt to take advantage of his patent. Within less than a month he had an expedition ready to sail for America. The object of this expedition was to explore the country and fix upon a place for a settlement. It was under the command of two experienced sailors, Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow. They sailed from the west coast of England April 27, 1584, "with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals." A voyage of sixty-seven days, without incident, brought them July 2 to "shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firme lande, and we sayled along the same a hundred and twentie English miles before we could finde any entrance, or river issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared unto us, we entred, though not without some difficultie, & cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the havens mouth, on the left hand of the same: and after thanks given to God for our safe arrival thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoining, and to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Majestie, as rightfull Queene, and Princesse of the same, and after delivered the same over to your [Raleigh's] use, according to her Majesties grant, and letters patent, under her Highnesse great scale."

They discover land

and take possession
in the name of the
queen.



THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH IN "VIRGINIA."

(FROM THE JOHN WHITE PICTURES.)



These important proceedings were performed "according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises."*

Thus on the sand banks that guard the eastern shores of North Carolina the English race laid its first firm grasp on the North American continent. How unconscious were those obscure English sailors that they were enacting one of the greatest scenes in the world's history! Three hundred years have gone yet even we, after all the tremendous results that have followed in their train, cannot yet fully appreciate the vast significance of that simple ceremony. For then and there, on the North Carolina coast, Englishmen first set foot on American soil with a view to permanent possession, and that event, rather than the defeat of the Invincible Armada, "was the opening event in the history of the United States."

Amadas and Barlow were to explore the country and select a place for a settlement. Immediately after the ceremony of taking possession they "viewed the land" about them, which they found "very sandie and low towards the waters side. * * * We passed from the Sea side towards the toppes of those hilles next adjoyning, being but of meane high, and from thence wee behelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both wayes. This lande lay stretching itselke to the West, which after wee found to bee but an Island of twentie miles long, and not above sixe miles broade." A few days later Barlow, with seven of his crew "went twentie miles" across the sound, "and the evening following, wee came to an Island which they [the natives] call Raonoak, distant from the harbour by which we entered, seven leagues: and at the North end thereof

Significance of the ceremony.

Explorations.

Roanoke Island discovered.

* Barlow's report printed in Hackluyt's Voyages.

there was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially. * * * Beyond this Island there is the maine lande. * * * When we first had sight of this countrey, some thought the first land we saw to bee the continent: but after we entered into the Haven, we saw before us another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coast a tracte of Islands, two hundreth [hundred] miles in length, adjoyning to the Ocean sea: * * * when you entred betweene them * * * then there appeareth another great Sea: * * * and in this inclosed Sea there are above an hundreth [hundred] Islands of divers big- nesses, whereof one is sixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground. * * * Besides this Island there are many, as I have sayd, * * * most beautiful and pleasant to behold.”* Barlow’s report also mentions several other places by their Indian names, which he had learned from the natives who had visited him, for he did not himself explore them. Indeed, though he and Amadas remained in our waters about two months, they saw but little of the country. Perhaps they thought they might go farther and fare worse.

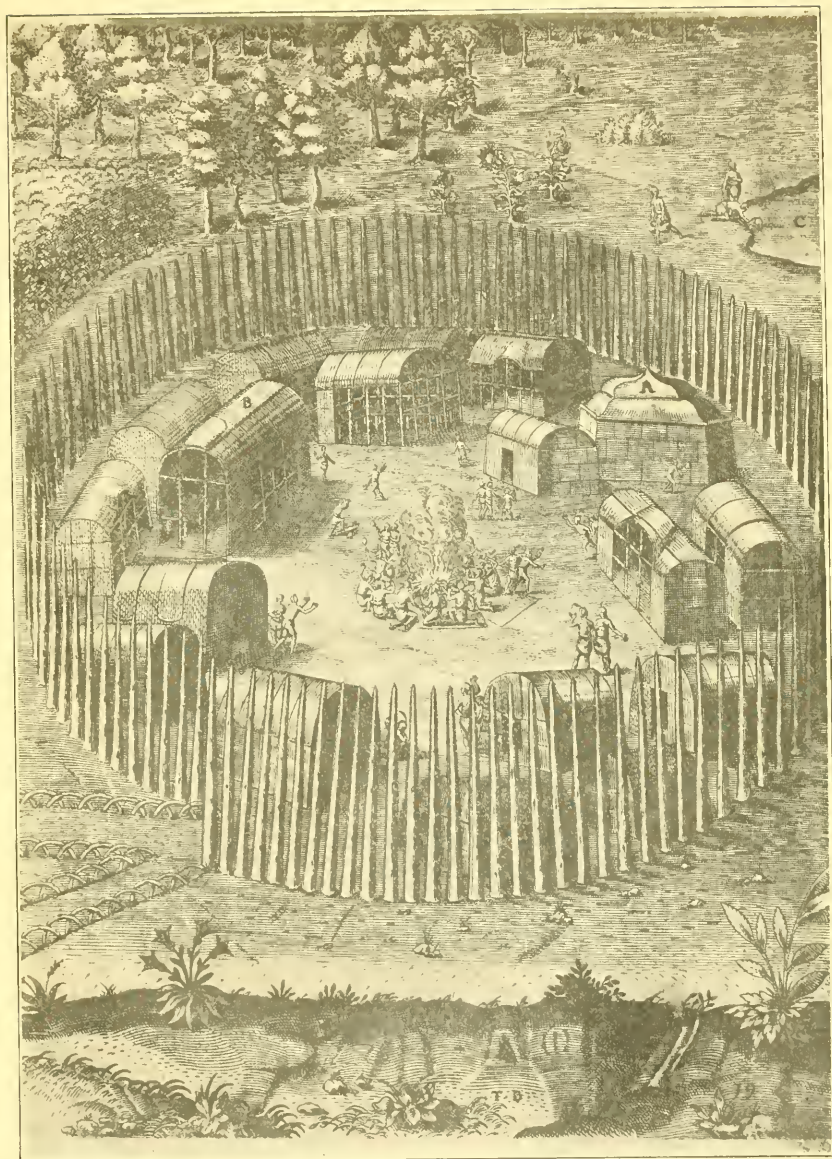
The sand banks.

Other islands.

A glowing report.

Indeed, the visitors seemed to think they had reached a veritable paradise. Their report glowed with enthusiasm for the new country and its people. The “soile” was “the most plentiful, sweete, fruit- full and wholesome of all the world.” There were “above fourteene severall sweete smelling timber trees,” while the “underwoods,” were mostly of “Bayes and such like.” They found the same “okes”

* Barlow’s report.



AN INDIAN VILLAGE.
(FROM THE JOHN WHITE PICTURES.)

as grew in Europe "but farre greater and better." In the woods grew "the highest and reddest Cedars of the world." The island was sandy "but so full of grapes as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them," and they were "in such plenty * * * both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hills, as in the plaines, as well as on every little shrubbe, as also climbing towards the tops of high Cedars" that in "all the world the like abundance" could not be found. As the men strolled down the coast "such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose under" them "with such a cry redoubled by many echoes as if an armie of men had showed all together." The island "had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, * * * in incredible abundance;" while the waters were alive "with the goodliest and best fish in the world." The Indians sent them "divers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and divers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Country corne, which is very white, faire and well tasted."

The Englishmen were as much delighted with the natives as with their country. They found them "very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civill as any of Europe." The chief of the country, Wingina, was disabled by a wound received in battle, so he sent his brother, Granganimeo, to welcome the strangers. Granganimeo "made all signes of joy and welcome, striking on his head and breast and afterwards on ours, to shew wee were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all love and familiaritie." When the Englishmen visited the natives in their villages

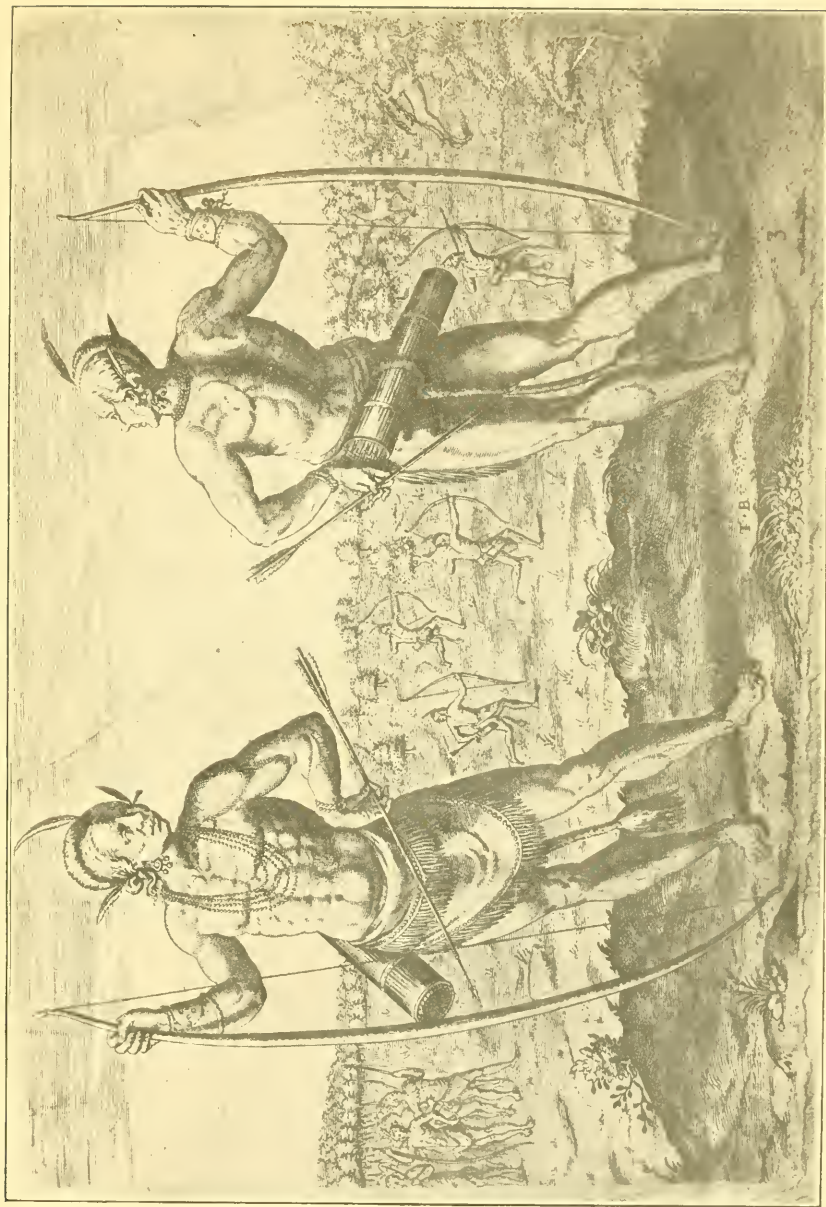
The natives. Appearance and manners.

Entertainment.

they "were entertained with all love and kindnesse, and with as much bountie (after their maner) as they could possibly devise." Thus they were deceived into the belief that the natives were "most gentle, loving and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the maner of the golden age." Immediately after this bit of rapsody the report adds: "their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their civill dissentions which have happened of late yeeres amongst them, the people are marvelously wasted and in some places the cuntry left desolate."

Trading with the natives.

The explorers of course did not neglect the opportunity which the friendliness of the natives gave them for trade. They had brought with them the usual trinkets for which the Indians were always ready to trade furs and skins, gold and silver, pearls and coral. "We fell to trading with them," says Barlow, "exchanging some things we had, for Chamoyes, Buffe, and Deere skinnes." A bright tin dish especially pleased Granganimeo and he gave for it "twentie skinnes, woorth twentie Crownes"; while for a copper kettle he exchanged "fiftie skinnes, woorth fiftie Crownes." Granganimeo's wife, on her visit to the English ships, wore about her forehead "a bande of white Corall"; and "in her ears shee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle * * * and these were of the bignes of good pease." Some of the women "of the better sort" and "some of the children of the kings brother and other noble men" had copper pendants hanging from their ears. Granganimeo "himselpe had upon his forehead a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being unpolished we knew not what mettall it should be." He "had



INDIAN CHIEFS.
(FROM THE JOHN WHITE PICTURES.)

great liking of our armour, a sword and divers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great boxe of pearle in gage for them, but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them know, that we esteemed thereof, until we had understoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew.”*

Two months were thus spent in exploring the coun-^{“Virginia.”}try, visiting the natives, gathering information and trading. “Then,” says Barlow, “contenting our selves with this service at this time, which wee hope hereafter to inlarge, as occasion and assistance shall be given, we resolved to leave the countrey and to apply ourselves to returne to England, which we did accordingly, and arrived safely in the West of England about the middest of September. * * * We brought home also two of the Savages, being lustie men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.” The story of this voyage was heard in England with wonder and delight, and everybody was charmed with this wonderful new country and its “gentle, loving” people. When the Englishmen asked the natives the name of their country, they replied, “Win-ganda-coa,” and by this name Barlow called it. But the savages meant “What pretty clothes you wear!” Elizabeth, delighted that her reign had been signalized by so great an event, declared that in honor of her virgin state the new country should be called “Virginia.”

* “The white ‘coral’ here spoken of, as worn by the wife of Granganimeo, was probably the nacre of conch shells, of which the *wampum* or *peak* of the natives was made. The *pearls* also, represented as hanging from her ears, may have been real; but if so, they were probably but coarse specimens, as we have no reason to believe that the pearl-oyster was abundant in our waters, or that the Indians were pearl divers; indeed the pearls are said elsewhere to be derived from *muscles* taken in the ‘great river’ they called *Cipo*, which may have been Currituck sound. We know not whether muscles are particularly abundant now in its waters, but we know that in 1714 [1709], when Lawson wrote, they were very numerous throughout the whole coast region of the state.”—Hawks: History of North Carolina, Vol. I, 80.

The "First Colony."

Raleigh lost no time in preparing a colony for "Virginia." The queen conferred upon him the honor of knighthood as a reward for his gift of "Virginia" to the crown. He was wealthy and famous, and was high in the favor of his sovereign. Men were anxious to enlist in the service of one so signally favored by fortune. He found no difficulty, therefore, in securing a colony led by picked men. For governor he selected Ralph Lane. Lane, who had already seen considerable service, was then on duty for the crown in Ireland, but the queen ordered a substitute to be appointed in his government of Kerry and Clammorris, "in consideration of his ready undertaking the voyage to Virginia for Sir Walter Raleigh at Her Majesty's command."* The event proved the wisdom of the choice. In his management of his colony Lane displayed executive ability and foresight. His dealings with the Indians were courageous and sagacious. He pushed his explorations with energy and intelligence. "He had the rough courage of a soldier of his day, he endured hardships with his men, he had judgment to see that Roanoke Island was not a proper site for the colony, and to devise a plan by which two parties, one on the land and the other on the water, should attempt to meet and find on the Chesapeake Bay, a better locality, of which he had heard from an Indian prince, his prisoner. He had wit and prudence enough to secure the fidelity of that prisoner by keeping his only son as a hostage; he pursued the wise policy of attaching that son to him by great personal kindness: he exhibited a provident forethought for the supply

Ralph Lane.

* William Wirt Henry: "Sir Walter Raleigh"; Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. III, p. 111.

of his men with food, when disappointed in his expectation of an arrival from England with supplies. The personal attachment he had created in his young hostage was the means of his discovering a wide spread plot for the destruction of the colony by the natives; he nipped it in the bud by promptitude and courage, and exhibited therein, precisely those qualities, which he knew then, as we know now, are just those and those only which can overawe savages. Whether sagacious or not he reminds us forcibly, in a review of his measures and a survey of his conduct, of Captain John Smith's proceedings in circumstances not unlike his own."* Others who were members of Lane's colony and afterwards won fame were "the wonderful Suffolk boy," Thomas Cavendish, aged twenty-two years, who, before he reached his twenty-ninth year rivaled the exploits of Sir Francis Drake in the Pacific and circumnavigated the globe;† Philip Amadas, one of the commanders in the first expedition to Roanoke, and now "admiral" of "Virginia"; John White, the artist of the expedition, sent by Raleigh to make paintings of the country and its people, afterwards governor of the "Lost Colony;" and Thomas Hariot, the historian and scientist of the colony, "a mathematician of great distinction, who materially advanced the science of Algebra, and was honored by Descartes, who imposed some of Hariot's work upon the French as his own."‡ To none who bore a part in the efforts to plant a colony on Roanoke Island, save Raleigh alone, do we owe more than to White and Hariot. The work of "these two earnest and true men"—the splendid pic-

Other leaders.

* Hawks: *History of North Carolina*, Vol. I, p. 107.

† Fiske: "Old Virginia and Her Neighbours," Vol. I, p. 33.

‡ Henry: "Sir Walter Raleigh"; Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. III, p. 111.

tures of the one and the scholarly narrative of the other—preserve for us the most valuable information that we have of “Ould Virginia.” Two others who sailed in Lane’s expedition were Wanchese and Manteo, the two “lustie” natives who had accompanied Amadas and Barlow to England. The fleet was under the command of the famous Sir Richard Grenville, whose heroic death in the most wonderful sea fight in all history is nobly commemorated by Tennyson in one of the most stirring ballads in our language.

The colony was composed of 108 men. “With marvelous energy, enterprise, and skill Raleigh collected and fitted out in an incredibly short time a fleet of seven ships well stocked and well manned to transport his ‘first colonie’ into the wilds of America. * * * Never before did a finer fleet leave the shores of England, and never since was one more honestly or hopefully dispatched. There were the ‘Tyger’ and the ‘Roe Buck’ of 140 tons each, the ‘Lyon’ of 100 tons, the ‘Elizabeth’ of 50 tons, the ‘Dorothea,’ a small bark, and two pinnaces, hardly big enough to bear distinct names, yet small enough to cross dangerous bars and enter unknown bays and rivers.”* The fleet sailed from Plymouth April 9, 1585, followed the usual route by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, reached “the maine of Florida” June 20, and three days later narrowly escaped wreck “on a breach called the Cape of Feare.” June 26 brought them to Wocokon, part of the North Carolina banks, on the modern map called Ocracoke. The next month was spent in exploring the coast and making the acquaintance of the natives. In the

Colony sails for
“Virginia.”

* Stevens: “Thomas Hariot and His Associates,” p. 50.

course of these explorations an Indian stole a silver cup from one of the visitors. Thereupon the Englishmen "burned and spoiled their corn," and thus sowed seeds of hostility that were soon to ripen into a harvest of blood and slaughter. July 27 the fleet reached Hatteras "and there rested." A month later, lacking two days, Grenville weighed anchor for England, leaving at Roanoke the first English colony that landed on the shores of the United States.* This colony remained in the New World one year and then were forced to abandon the enterprise.

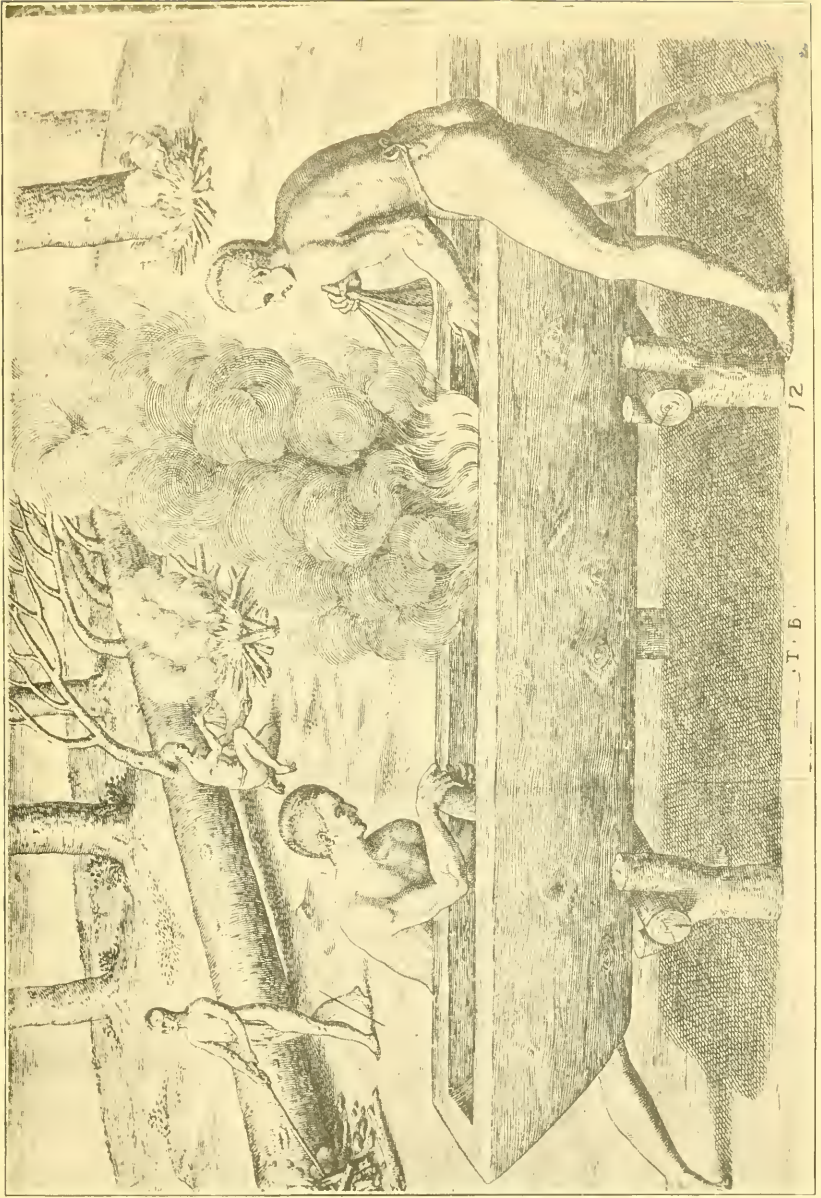
This year was occupied chiefly with explorations. Explorations:
 The first work, however, was to build a fort and "sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses." From this "new Fort in Virginia," September 3, 1585, Ralph Lane wrote to his friend Richard Hackluyt of London the first letter, of which we have record, written in the English language from the New World. Lane fairly bubbled over with enthusiasm for the new country, which, he declared, was "the goodliest soyle under the cope of heaven." In fact, he thought "if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, * * * being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it."* Historians do not agree in their estimates of the importance of the work done by Lane. Bancroft declared that "his discoveries were inconsiderable." "We dissent from this statement entirely," protested Hawks. Let us first consider the obstacles in Lane's way. He was in an unknown Lane's difficulties.
 land, surrounded by hostile tribes of fierce, warlike people. On one side was a storm-beaten coast of shifting, treacherous sand bars; on the other were

*Hackluyt's Voyages.

long stretches of sandy plains cut to pieces by low marshes and tangled swamps penetrable only by ascending sluggish rivers and creeks. No white man had ever paddled his canoe through their waters. The land to be explored must be reached through a sound "full of flats and shoals." For his difficult work Lane was supplied with equipment not so good as that which a party of school boys would now have for a summer camping trip. He had "but one boate with foure oares, * * * which boate could not carry above fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for seven dayes at the most." He was here but one year, and during half of that time a man took his life into his own hands who ventured out in an open boat in face of the winter's storms. The store of provisions ran low and more than once the men looked starvation in the face. There was but a handful of men, over whom the governor's authority was but slight, and a considerable portion of these were lazy, fault-finding and vicious. Their misconduct clogged the efforts of the governor; their idleness taxed the store of provisions for their support and contributed nothing in return; their cruelties and outrages against the Indians endangered the lives of all. Yet Lane himself utters no word of complaint of "their misdemeanor and ill-dealing," and we would not now know of it had not the righteous indignation of Hariot refused to keep silent.* In addition to all these difficulties the Indians were deceitful, treacherous and hostile. Under such conditions what did Lane and his followers accomplish? Their discoveries extended from Roanoke Island to the south fourscore miles, to the north one

Lane's discoveries.

* Hariot's Narrative.



12

I. B.

INDIANS MAKING A CANOE.

hundred and thirty miles, and to the northwest one hundred and thirty miles. Interpreting these expeditions by our modern map Hawks shows that of our present counties they visited Carteret, Craven, Jones, Beaufort, Hyde, and Dare, and all the counties north of Albemarle Sound between Currituck Sound and Chowan River. They ascended Chowan River coasting Bertie, Hertford and Gates counties for they went as far as the junction of the Meherrin and Notoway rivers. They ascended the Roanoke river until they were "one hundred and sixty miles from home." This would have taken them along the borders of Martin, Bertie, Halifax, Northampton and Warren counties. To the northward they went one hundred and thirty miles from Roanoke Island; here their voyage must have been up Currituck Sound which took them into Virginia. Leaving the water they travelled into the country of the "Chesapeans" which was distant "fifteen miles from the shoare," so that they almost reached the Chesapeake Bay below Norfolk. Altogether they visited the territory now included in nineteen of our counties and crossed the entire state from the sea shore at Croatan into Virginia.*

But what were the results of Lane's explorations? Results of Lane's work. They led him to the conclusion that Roanoke Island was not the proper place for a colony and caused him to suggest Chesapeake Bay as a better place. He received his information of Chesapeake Bay from Menatonon, chief of the Chawanooks, whom he describes as "a very grave and wise man." Lane held Menatonon prisoner for two days during which

*Hawks: "History of North Carolina," Vol. I, p. 108.

time he received from him "more understanding and light of the Countrey" than he received from all other sources. Menatonon tickled his ears with stories of vast quantities of pearls to be found on Chesapeake Bay and Lane planned a trip to ascertain the truth of these stories. If they proved to be true he determined to remove his colony there from Roanoke Island where the harbor was "very naught." In another place he declared that three things were indispensable to make this country desirable for colonization by the English. These were the discovery of gold, the finding of a passage to the South Sea, and the discovery of a "better harborough than yet there is, which must be to the Northward, if any there bee." To the northward, therefore, Raleigh directed White to go, and to the northward the Jamestown colony went. Such results at least cannot well be termed "inconsiderable."

Exploration of
Roanoke River.
Hardships.

Lane's experience upon his trip up the Moratoc, or Roanoke river, will serve to give an idea of the hardships he and his men endured in the prosecution of their work. The savages were not long in discovering that the Englishmen were willing listeners to all tales of which gold, silver and pearls were the burden, and they whetted Lane's avarice with stories of great quantities of gold to be found up the Roanoke river. His curiosity was also excited by their stories of the strange origin of this stream. With forty men he undertook to test the truth of these stories and in the course of their voyage their food ran low. Calling his men around him Lane informed them of the situation, and referred it to the majority "whether wee should adventure the spending of our whole victuall

in some further viewe of that most goodly River in hope to meete with some better happe, or otherwise to retire ourselves backe againe." After a night's deliberation the men declared—"and not three founde to bee of the contrary opinion"—that so long as they had left one half-pint of corn to the man they would prosecute their work; for if it became necessary they could eat the dogs they had with them. "This resolution of theirs," declared Lane, "did not a little please mee since it came of themselves." They accordingly continued the voyage, their food gave out, the pangs of hunger attacked them, and they were reduced to "their Dogges porredge." Returning homeward they landed for a night on an island where they "had nothing in the world to eate but pot-tage of Sassafras leaves, the like whereof for a meate was never used before. * * * This was upon Easter eve, which was fasted very truely." Two days later they reached Roanoke Island, many of the company "farre spent."*

Upon his return from this trip Lane's relations with the Indians seemed to be all that could be desired. Two of the most powerful chiefs sent in their submission and the Indians on Roanoke Island built weirs for the white men and planted enough corn to feed them a year. But appearances were deceiving. "Familiarity breeds contempt," and never did an adage receive stronger confirmation than this one found in the early relations between the red men and the white men. The awe with which the former at first regarded the latter as superior beings rapidly disappeared when familiarity proved them to be but common men. No longer to be welcomed as gods,

Relations with the
Indians.

* Lane's Narrative in Hackluyt's Voyages.

they must be expelled as intruders; and around the fires of the wigwams painted warriors considered how this desirable object might be accomplished. Among the leaders in these dark counsels were Wingina and Wanchese. It was the former's brother Granganimeo, it will be recalled, who welcomed Amadas and Barlow to the New World: the latter with Manteo accompanied them on their return voyage to Europe. Granganimeo and Manteo became fast friends, Wingina and Wanchese steadfast enemies of the white men. Soon after Lane's arrival Granganimeo died, whereupon Wingina changed his name to Pemisapan. Pemisapan began at once to plot the destruction of the English. They still had, however, a powerful friend in Ensenore, the father of Pemisapan and Granganimeo. His influence was sufficient to prevent an outbreak while Lane was on his trip up the Roanoke. But in April 1586 Ensenore died. Pemisapan and Wanchese immediately began "again to put their old practises in use against us, which were readily imbraced, and all their former devises against us renewed, and new brought in question."

Pemisapan's plot.

Pemisapan's plot was shrewdly laid. He formed a coalition of all the tribes north of Albemarle Sound, fourteen or fifteen hundred warriors. They agreed that no food should be supplied to the Englishmen and that their weirs should be robbed and broken, so that they would have to scatter in search of food. A day was set for the general attack. Pemisapan then withdrew to Dasamonguepeuk on the mainland, to avoid Lane's daily demands for food. He had planned well. Famine soon threatened the colony and Lane was compelled to scatter his men as Pemisapan had foreseen. He seemed about to walk



G. VEEN

INDIANS COOKING CORN.

(FROM THE JOHN WHITE PICTURES.)

into the savage's cunning trap, when the whole plot was revealed to him. Lane acted with "promptitude and courage." Sending word to Pemisapan at Dasamonguepeuk that his fleet had arrived at Croatan—"though I in truth neither heard nor hoped for so good adventure"—he said that on his way to meet it he would stop by Dasamonguepeuk for supplies. Pemisapan was completely deceived. Lane marched upon his camp and found him with several of his principal warriors awaiting him. At the watch word agreed upon—"Christ our victory"—the Englishmen fell upon the savages "and immediately those his chiefe men and himselfe had by the merey of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us." Pemisapan was shot and beheaded, several of his warriors were killed, the rest scattered, and the conspiracy fell to pieces. Lane merely adopted the tactics of the enemy and beat them at their own game.

A few days after this victory Lane learned that a great fleet of twenty-three sails had appeared off Croatan, and on June 11 Sir Francis Drake arrived "in the road of our bad harborow." He was a welcomed visitor for he made "a most bountiful and honorable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action wee were entered into; and that not only of victuals, munitions, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnesses, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned and furnished to my contentation." Lane accordingly prepared a list of the things he needed and Drake issued an order to his officers to supply them. The *Francis*, "being a very proper barke of 70 tun," two pinnaces and four small boats, with two "as sufficient experimented Masters as were any in his fleet," were selected for

Arrival of Sir
Francis Drake.

Lane's service. But while these preparations were under way "there arose such an unwoonted storme, and continued foure dayes that had like to have driven all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand over them."* The fleet was "in great danger to be driven from their anking upon the coast. For we brake many cables and lost many ankors. And some of our fleet which had lost all, (of which number was the ship appointed for Master Lane and his company) was driven to put to sea in great danger, in avoyding the coast, and could never see us againe untill we met in England. Many also of our small pinnaces and boates were lost in this storm."† In spite of these losses Drake generously renewed his proposition and offered to replace the *Francis* with the *Bonner*, a bark of 170 tons. But he was forced to qualify this proposition with the statement "that he would not for anything undertake to have her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leave her in the road." This put a new face on the proposition and Lane called his officers into consultation. After thoroughly canvassing the whole situation—the weakness of the colony, their small number, the loss of the *Francis*, "by the very hand of God as it seemed," the impossibility of bringing the *Bonner* into the harbor, the danger of leaving her in the road, the failure of Grenville, long past due, to arrive with supplies, the political and military situation in England—after considering all these things, they decided to ask Drake to give the colony passage to England. He readily consented and then "in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankors

Colony returns to
England.

* Lane's Narrative.

† "Sir Francis Drake Revised." A pamphlet printed in London in 1653, quoted by Hawks: "History of North Carolina," Vol. I, pp. 139-140.

(having bestowed us among his fleet) for the relieve of whom hee had in that storme sustained more perill of wrake then [than] in all his former most honourable actions against the Spanyards, with praises unto God for all, set saile the nineteenth of June, 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth the seven and twentieth of July the same yeere." This action of Lane has been harshly criticised by historians, though surely upon insufficient grounds. It is manifest that he had no thought of returning to England with Drake until driven to it by providential causes. On the contrary his whole line of conduct before the storm reveals a determination to remain at Roanoke Island and prosecute his work with vigor. Certainly Elizabeth, Raleigh, Drake and England's other great leaders did not regard his course unfavorably, for we find them afterwards, at that supreme moment in English history when the great Armada was bearing down on England's coast, summoning him to their most secret councils of war; and in 1593 we see him kneeling before England's great queen to receive the honor of knighthood for services to the crown. Dire necessity occasioned by causes beyond the control of man drove Lane hesitatingly and regretfully to his final decision and put an end to the first attempt to found an English colony in America.

Lane and his colonists found no precious metals in "Virginia," but they introduced to the English people three articles that have brought more gold and silver into the coffers of English-speaking peoples than the Spaniards took from all the mines of Mexico and Peru. These were "uppowoc," "pagatour," and "openauk," articles first described for the English people by Hariot. Though now masquerad-

"Uppowoc,"
"pagatour," and
"openauk."

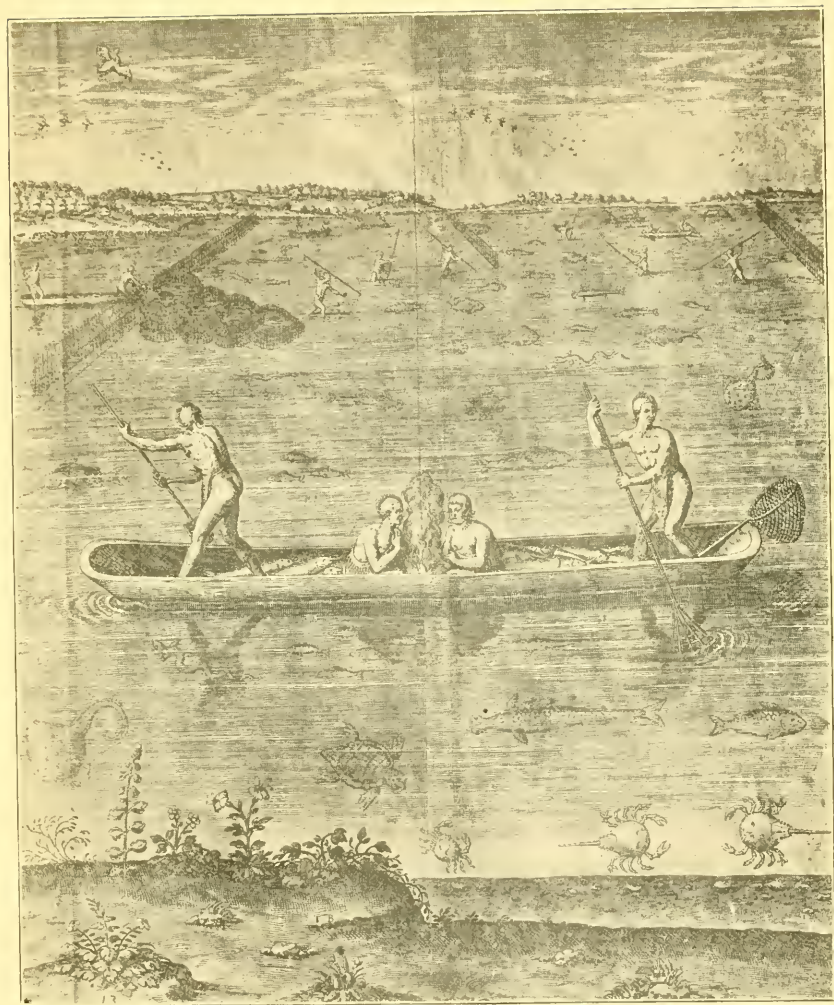
ing under other names we have no difficulty in recognizing in "uppowoc" our tobacco, in "pagatour" our Indian corn, and in "openauk" our Irish potato.* Everybody knows that the first man of rank to introduce the use of tobacco to the English people was Sir Walter Raleigh. He also introduced the cultivation of the potato into England and Ireland. No greater service was ever rendered the Irish people. So important to their welfare has it become that more than once in their history it has saved almost the whole people from starvation, and though not native to the Emerald Isle yet is best known as the Irish potato.†

Relief expeditions.

Shortly before Lane's embarkation for England a ship fitted out by Raleigh "at his owne charge" and "fraighted with all maner of things in a most plentifull manner, for the supply and reliefe of his colony then remaining in Virginia," sailed from England bound for Roanoke Island. This vessel reached Hatteras immediately after the departure of the English colony "out of this paradise of the world." Finding no settlers the ship returned to England. Two weeks later Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three ships. After diligent search for Lane's people he too turned his prow homeward. But "unwilling to loose the possession of the countrey which Englishmen had so long held, after good deliberation, he determined to leave some men behinde to reteine possession of the Countrey, whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Isle of Roanoke, furnished plentifully with all maner of provisions for two yeeres, and so departed for England."

* Hariot's "A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia."

† Stebbing: Sir Walter Raleigh, pp. 49, 101.



INDIANS FISHING.
(FROM THE JOHN WHITE PICTURES.)

Raleigh was not to be deterred from his great ^{John White's colony} work by a single failure. "In the yeere of our Lord 1587 Sir Walter Raleigh intending to persevere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom hee appointed Governour, and also appointed unto him twelve Assistants, unto whom he gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia." This colony contained seventeen women and nine children. Ten of the men, it may be inferred from the names, were accompanied by their wives and children. They were therefore going to "Virginia" to seek permanent homes. Three vessels, the *Admiral*, 120 tons, a fly-boat and a pinnacc, sailed from Portsmouth April 26, 1587, bearing this little colony to its mysterious fate. Following the advice of Lane, Raleigh ordered the fleet only to touch at Roanoke for the men left by Grenville, and then to proceed to the Chesapeake where he intended the settlement to be made. This order was not obeyed because the commander of the fleet, Simon Ferdinando, proved himself to be a treacherous villain. On May 16 he "lewdly forsooke our Fly-boate, leaving her distressed in the Bay of Portugal." His carelessness came near to wrecking the fleet on Cape Fear, a disaster averted only by the vigilance of Captain Stafford. July 22 brought them to Hatteras and the governor with forty men embarked in the pinnace for Roanoke Island to bring off Grenville's men. But as they left the ship Ferdinando sent orders to the sailors in the pinnace "charging them not to bring any of

the planters backe againe, but to leave them in the Island, "except the Governour, & two or three such as he approved, saying that the Summer was farre spent, wherefore hee would land the planters in no other place." From this decision there was no appeal this side of England and White was forced against his will to land his colony on Roanoke Island. This landing occurred "in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, saving onely wee found the bones of one of those fifteene, which the Savages had slaine long before." Afterwards they heard from the Croatans the story of this massacre. Passing to the north end of the island they found the houses and the ruins of the fort built by Lane. The houses were in good condition but the outer rooms "were overgrowen with Melons of divers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Melons." The work of repairing these houses and the building of new ones was begun without delay. While this work was in progress, the fly-boat arrived from the Bay of Portugal where Ferdinando had left it in hopes that it would be lost or destroyed, "but God disappointed his wicked pretenses."* The arrival of this boat completed the number of planters and so the second attempt to found an English colony in America was under way.

lands at Roanoke
Island

and begins settle-
ment.

The Lord of Roan-
oke.

Three days later George Howe, one of the twelve assistants, was killed by Indians belonging to the remnant of Wingina's tribe at Dasamonguepeuk "with whom Wanchese kept companie." This murder led Governor White to send messengers to Manteo to renew the friendly alliance with his Indians and,

* Hackluyt's Voyages.

if possible, through him with the other tribes. The latter part of the plan failed, but peace was renewed with the Croatans and on August 13, in obedience to Sir Walter Raleigh's command, Manteo was baptised and christened Lord of Roanoke and of Dasamunguepeuk "in reward of his faithful service." This is the first instance on record of a Christian service by English Protestants within the boundaries of the United States and raises the interesting query whether the colony contained a clergyman.

A few days later occurred the second such service Virginia Dare. in connection with the most interesting event in the life of the little colony. Among Governor White's assistants was his son-in-law, Ananias Dare. On the 18 of August his wife Eleanor Dare gave birth to a daughter. On the following Sunday she was baptised "and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia." More people perhaps know the story of Virginia Dare than of any other baby that ever lived, save one, though the last ever heard of her was when she was but nine days old. The state of North Carolina has commemorated her birth by embracing the very spot whereon she was born into a county called Dare. A few days after her birth another baby was born at Roanoke, the child of Margery, wife of Dionysus Harvie. This child's Christian name is unknown but tradition affirms that it was a boy, and if so he was the first English man born in America.

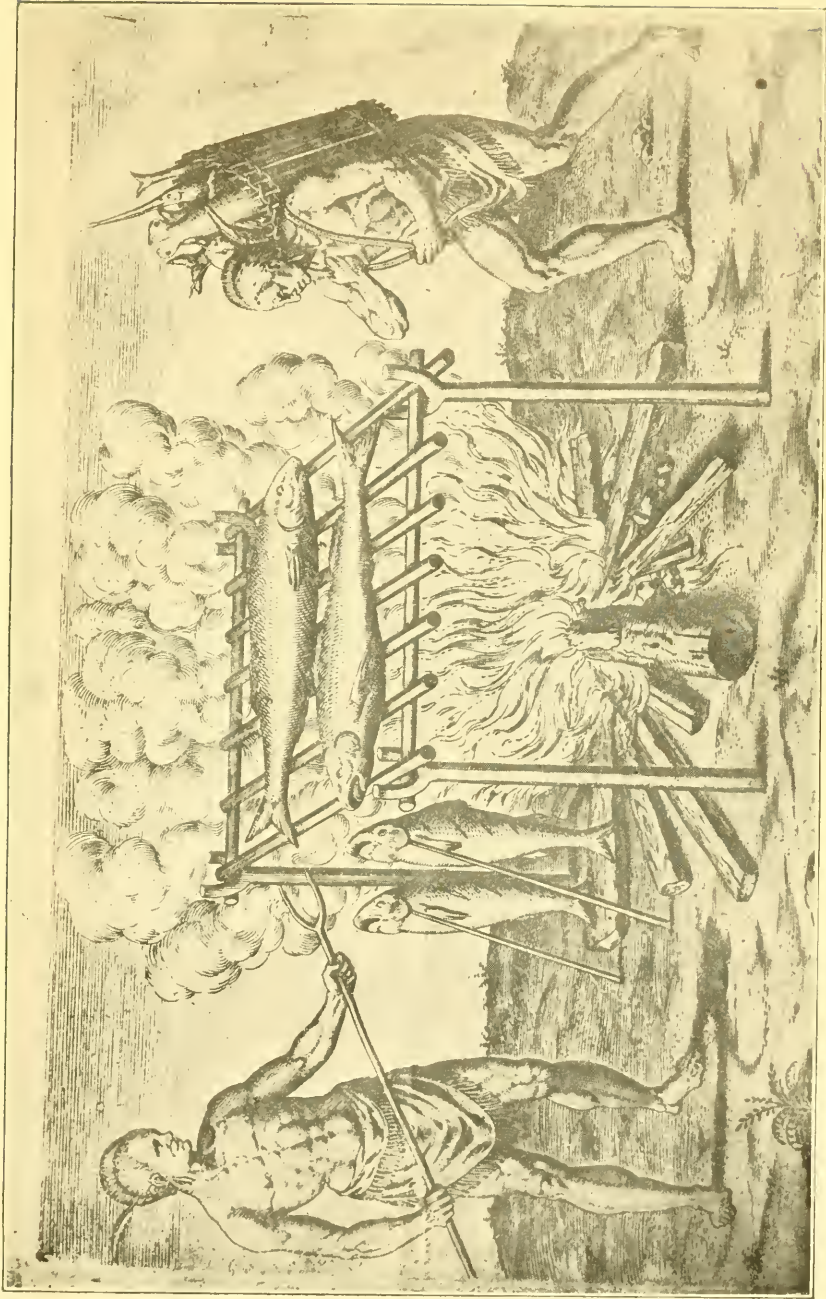
These babies were but a few days old when oc- White's return to England. curred the last recorded event in the life of the colony. It was necessary for somebody to return to England for supplies. Two of the governor's assistants were expected to go but when the time came none of them

would make the trip. Then "the whole company both of the Assistants and planters came to the Governour, and with one voice requested him to returne himselfe into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them." At first he would not listen to their entreaties, alleging that many of the colony had been induced to come by his persuasion "and that some enemies to him and the action at his returne into England would not spare to slander falsly both him and the action" by accusing him of deserting the colony. Besides they "intended to remove 50 miles further up into the maine presently," and he must remain to superintend this removal. But the next day "not onely the Assistants but divers others, as well women as men," renewed their request agreeing to sign a statement "under their hands and scales" that his return was made at their earnest entreaties. This statement was accordingly duly executed and White "being at the last through their extreame intreating constraigned to returne into England, * * * departed from Roanoak the seven and twentieth of August in the morning, and the same day about midnight, came aboard the Flieboat, who already had weyed anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them. * * * The same day both the ships weyed anker, and set saile for England."* From that day to this the fate of Virginia Dare and the Roanoke settlers has been a mystery.

The Invincible
Armada.

Upon his arrival in England White found the whole country astir over the approach of the Invincible Armada. Every English vessel and every English sailor was in demand for the defence of the

* White's Narrative in Hackluyt's Voyages.



INDIANS COOKING FISH.
(FROM THE JOHN WHITE PICTURES.)

kingdom. There was no busier man in all England than Sir Walter Raleigh, yet he found time to listen to White's story and by the greatest exertions prepared a small expedition for the relief of his colony. But at the very last moment orders came forbidding the expedition to sail. His influence, however, was great and in April 1588 he secured permission for two small vessels to go to Roanoke. They set sail but were attacked by Spanish war vessels and compelled to return to England. It was too late then to give any further attention to the little handful of settlers across the ocean; the great Invincible Armada was bearing down on England's coast and every man's first duty was at his post to defend his home and fireside. In the midst of the danger to the nation Virginia Dare was forgotten and neglected. But finally the great battle took place and the Spaniards were driven crushed and shattered from the English Channel, for "God blew with his winds and they were scattered."

In March 1590 White finally sailed for Roanoke. The search for the Lost Colony. Unfortunately he did not command the vessel on which he sailed but went as a passenger on board a ship bound for trade in the West Indies. He afterwards wrote an account of his search for his colony.* "The 15 of August towards Evening we came to an anker at Hatorask. * * * At our first coming to anker on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Roanoke neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which smoake put us in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England." The sea was rough and

* Printed in Hackluyt's Voyages.



much difficulty was experienced in reaching Roanoke Island. On one of the attempts seven men were drowned. "This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement & perswasion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates: but before we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the North end of the Iland ye light of a great fire thorow the woods, to which we presently rowed: when wee came right over against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore, & sounded with a trumpet Call, & afterwarde many familiar English tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answeare, we therefore landed at day breake, and coming to the fire, we found the grasse & sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Island directly over against Dasamongwepeuk, & from thence we returned by the water side, round about the North point of the Iland, untill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586 [1587]. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Salvages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden ye night, and as we entered up the sandy banke upon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carved three faire Romane letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the

planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon between them & me at my last departure from them, which was, that in any wayes they should not fail to write or carve on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my coming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name, a Crosse X in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And having well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fortlike, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5 foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was graven CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many barres of Iron, two piggies of lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heavic things, throwen here and there, almost overgrown with grasse and weedes. * * * Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captain Amadas: where wee found five Chests, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled

with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; * * * but although it much grieved me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other hand I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Savages of the Iland our friends."

The search abandoned.

Preparations were made to proceed to Croatan "with as much speede" as possible, for the sky was threatening and promised a "foule and stormie night." The sailors embarked "with much danger and labour." During the night a fierce storm swept the sound and the next day "the weather grew to be fouler and fouler." The winds lashed the sea into a fury, cables snapt as though made of twine, three anchors were cast away and the vessels escaped wreck on the sand bars by a hair's breadth. Food ran low and fresh water gave out. It was therefore determined to go to St. Johns or some other island to the southward for fresh water and to continue in the West Indies during that winter "with hope to make 2 rich voyages of one." It will of course be remembered that White was merely a passenger and had no voice in determining the course of the fleet. He was compelled, therefore, against his wishes to acquiesce in this arrangement, but at his "earnest petitions" the captain of the fleet agreed to return in the spring and renew the search for the colonists. It is well-known history that this was not done for the voyage to the West Indies was unfortunate, their plans went awry and they were compelled to return to England without going by way of Croatan. Thus

was lost the last chance of learning definitely the fate of the "Lost Colony."^{*}

The departure of White did not end the search Roanoke and
Jamestown. for the colonists. Other expeditions were sent out without success. As late as 1602 or 1603 such an expedition sailed under the command of Samuel Mace. By the time Mace returned with his repetition of the same sad story, Raleigh had been attainted and his proprietorship to "Virginia" had escheated to the crown. His efforts had cost him an immense fortune amounting, it is estimated, to no less than one million dollars of our money. They had brought to him not a penny. But, though his financial resources were exhausted, his spirit was as deter-

* It is not my purpose to discuss in this paper the fate of the "Lost Colony." Those who wish to pursue this phase of the subject will find exhaustive discussions of it in "Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony," by Hamilton McMillan, A. M., Advance Presses, Wilson, N. C., 1888; in "The Lost Colony of Roanoke," by Stephen B. Weeks, Ph. D., The Knickerbocker Press, New York, 1891; and in "Virginia Dare," by S. A. Ashe, in the "Biographical History of North Carolina," Vol. IV, Charles L. Van Noppen, Publisher, Greensboro, N. C., 1906.

The theory advanced in these interesting discussions is that the colonists, despairing of the return of White, moved to Croatan, intermarried with the Croatan Indians, and became the ancestors of the present tribe of Croatans in North Carolina. In support of this theory, appeal is made to White's narrative, above quoted; to John Smith's "True Relation," published in 1608; to a map made in 1608 to illustrate Smith's narrative; to a pamphlet entitled "A True and Sincere Discourse of the Purpose and Ende of the *Plantation* begun in *Virginia*," published in 1610; to Strachey's "History of Travaile in Virginia Britannia," written sometime between 1612 and 1616, but not published until 1849; to John Lawson's "History of Carolina," published in 1709; and finally to the traditions, character, disposition, language and family names of the North Carolina Croatans of the present day.

Dr. Weeks thus summarizes the arguments in support of this theory: "Smith and Strachey heard that the colonists of 1587 were still alive about 1607. They were then living on the peninsula of Dasamonguepeuk, whence they travelled toward the region of the Chowan and Roanoke rivers. From this point they travelled toward the southwest, and settled on the upper waters of the Neuse. John Lederer heard of them in this direction in 1670 and remarked on their beards, which were never worn by full-blooded Indians. Rev. John Blair heard of them in 1704. John Lawson met some of the Croatan Indians about 1709, and was told that their ancestors were white men. White settlers came into the middle section of North Carolina as early as 1715, and found the ancestors of the present tribe of Croatan Indians tilling the soil, holding slaves, and speaking English. The Croatans of to-day claim descent from the lost colony. Their habits, disposition, and mental characteristics show traces both of savage and civilized ancestry. Their language is the English of three hundred years ago, and their names are in many cases the same as those borne by the original colonists. No other theory of their origin has been advanced, and it is confidently believed that the one here proposed is logically and historically the best, supported as it is, both by external and internal evidence. If this theory is rejected, then the critic must explain in some other way the origin of a people which, after the lapse of three hundred years, show the characteristics, speak the language, and possess the family names of the second English colony planted in the western world."—"The Lost Colony of Roanoke," pp. 33-39.

mined as ever and he never despaired of seeing an English colony planted in "Virginia." "I shall yet live to see it an English nation," he wrote just before his fall. To the realization of this prophecy no man contributed more than he. Among those who subscribed funds for the founding of the Jamestown colony were no less than ten of those who constituted the incorporators of the "Citie of Raleigh in Virginia" in 1587. In these men we have the connecting link between the Roanoke settlements and Jamestown. Thus though Raleigh never set foot on "Virginia" soil, "he will always be esteemed the true parent of North American colonization. An idea like his has life in it, though the plant may not spring up at once. When it rises above the surface the sower can claim it. Had the particular region of the New World not eventually become a permanent English settlement, he would still have earned the merit of authorship of the English colonizing movement. As Humbolt has said, without him, and without Cabot, North America might never have grown into a home of the English tongue."*

Raleigh's efforts
not failures.

Thus we see how erroneous it is to refer to Raleigh's efforts to plant a colony on Roanoke Island as failures. Doubtless such a view may be correct if they are to be regarded as isolated events without connection with the great events which preceded and followed. But surely this is not the historically correct view. We stamp the mark of success or failure on all human work not by the results of each successive step, but by the final outcome. In the history of the world generations, and even centuries must elapse before judgment may safely be passed

* Stebbing: "Sir Walter Raleigh," p. 48.

upon great historic events. Thus to the contemporaries of Sir Walter Raleigh his efforts to colonize America may have appeared as failures; but the historian of to-day, enjoying the perspective which the lapse of three centuries affords, if he properly interpret those events must reverse such a hasty judgment. The men of 1587 observed only the failure of each particular effort and were unable to foresee the influence which his great work would have on the general movement; the men of 1907 see the results of all his efforts at the close of a long period of development and are able to estimate the contribution which they have made to the grand triumph. Thus a distinguished Virginian pronounces that Raleigh's "greatest service to England and to the world was his pioneer effort to colonize America. * * * Baffled in his effort to plant the English race upon this continent, he yet called into existence a spirit of enterprise which first gave Virginia, and then North America, to that race, and which led Great Britain, from this beginning, to dot the map of the world with her colonies, and through them to become the greatest power of the earth."* Such are the immense results that have sprung from the efforts of Raleigh, and Lane, and White to plant an English colony on the shores of North Carolina. That judgment, therefore, is correct which declares that, looking back upon the events of the last three centuries, "We can hail the Roanoke settlement as the beginning of English colonization in America."

* William Wirt Henry: "Sir Walter Raleigh"; Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. III, p. 105.





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